Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,115 November 8, 1957 4d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

SENATOR MORSE AND THE TESTS

"I intend to press for action when Senate reconvenes"

DECLARING the cessation of nuclear bomb testing "a matter in my opinion of the foremost importance to the future of our civilisation," Senator Wayne Morse, a member of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has told a Peace News correspondent that he intends to press for action when the Senate meets again in January.

Senator Morse, who left the Republican Party and was re-elected as an independent, introduced Senate Resolution 173 on July 31 calling on the President "to obtain the prompt and concurrent cessation of further testing of nuclear bombs by the US, the Soviet Union and Great Britain until an international committee of recognised scientists can at least determine the extent of the danger from radio-active fall out."

New US tests at Eniwetok are expected in the spring of 1958.

"Because the Senate has adjourned, it will not be possible for action to be taken on my resolution until the next session, which commences in January," Senator Morse told our correspondent.

"You may be sure that I intend to press for action soon after we reconvene. I shall begin in the Foreign Relations Committee.

"I hope that we can get increased public reaction between now and the beginning of the next session."

"The danger is great"

Senator Morse told the Senate in his speech on July 31 that he was satisfied that "the danger from fall-out is great," and went on:

"But I rest my resolution also on moral

☐ ON BACK PAGE

The disarmament impasse at UN

From Dr. Homer A. Jack

DR. JACK sent this report from the United Nations on Nov. 1, three days before the Soviet Union's declaration that she would not participate again in the UN disarmament commission unless its composition were altered.

ALTHOUGH Sputnik and the Syrian-Turkish crisis have deflected world attention, the UN General Assembly for the past three weeks has been discussing almost daily disarmament and the cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

So far there has been more persistence than productivity. The 82-nation Political Committee has heard delegates from 47 nations in the general debate on the ten draft resolutions.

Deep divisions are emerging within the UN on this isue as they did within the five nations at the London negotiations. Discussion in New York has not lessened the widening gap between Russia and the West. If anything, events in recent weeks have tended to intensify the cold war. India, Yugoslavia, and other nations seem less able to act as bridges than at recent UN sessions.

There are several resolutions on changing the composition and procedures of the UN Disarmament Commission and its negotiating sub-committee.

"PLATEAU OF AGREEMENT"

The newest proposal by Russia calling for dissolution of the present commission and the creation of an 82-nation standing committee on disarmament has no chance of passage, but it focuses once again a growing dissatisfaction with the present limited, and non-Asian, membership of the present sub-committee.

Even the Indian resolution to expand the disarmament commission and the sub-committee has strong opposition in some Western quarters, although positions have not yet crystalised on this resolution and some modification of the composition of the sub-committee may yet be approved.

Mexico has informally proposed that a statesman of international prestige be appointed as UN Commissioner for Disarmament.

The essence of the present debate is the endorsement of either the 24-nation Western first-step disarmament proposal, as unveiled in London, or one of the substitutes, several

★ ON BACK PAGE

Protect humanity —RED CROSS

THE International Red Cross Conference in Delhi unanimously approved an Indian resolution appealing to all countries to eschew war and intensify their efforts for disarmament.

The resolution also called on all countries "to adopt measures which will at all times effectively protect humanity from the awful consequences of the use of incendiary, chemical, bacteriological, radio-active, or other such agents."

The resolution was passed unanimously on Nov. 1 by 115 votes to nil, amid loud cheers.

A Soviet amendment calling for the immediate cessation or, at least, suspension of nuclear tests was rejected.

"Shadow" Defence Minister on King-Hall proposals

By CHRISTOPHER FARLEY

"YOU could clearly make an intellectual case for a policy of passive resistance," stated the British Labour Party's "Shadow" Defence Minister last week. "But I reject that this is a valid course, both for intellectual and personal reasons."

The Rt. Hon. George Brown, PC, MP, was speaking at University College, London, on "Defence in the Nuclear Age".

It was significant that he felt it necessary to spend over half his time in trying to dismiss the case for non-violent resistance as recently discussed by Sir Stephen King-Hall.

Mr. Brown clearly betrayed his ignorance of this subject, for he suggested:

"If little nations want to retain their independence and have any say, they have to reject the theory of passive resistance, which is too negative. For us to be passive is to hand over the direction of affairs to Russia or America—and I am not even altogether happy about the latter—and there would be no leadership for the values we seek to defend."

THE H-BOMB

Dealing with his own conception of defence, which meant collective security and a firm belief in nuclear deterrents, Mr. Brown said:

"The main defence must be sought in the field of foreign policy. In a Labour administration, therefore, Mr. Bevan will be the first Defence Minister, so to speak, and I shall be the second, in case he fails."

"I believe there is a lot of exaggerated nonsense spoken about H-bombs," he continued. "The H-bomb is much less available as a weapon than we tend to think." Mr. Brown did not think that six H-bombs could knock out Britain.

"Any defensive war must be pretty aggressive from the start," he admitted, but he did not face any of the penetrating questions posed by Sir Stephen King-Hall in his "Reflections on Defence." Mr. Brown had not seen the proofs of Sir Stephen's forthcoming book, but gave the impression that he would read it.

Asked where his policy differed from that of Duncan Sandys, he replied: "Don't exaggerate our likeness. Sandys rules out graduated deterrents—but it is almost inevitable that we should have a lot in common."

See "Nuclear Nonsense"—page four

Leslie Hale, MP, a Peace News director, debates pacifism with Christopher Mayhew, MP, Foreign Under-Secretary from 1946 to 1950, at Cambridge University tonight (Friday).

NEW BRITISH TESTS

'SEE YOUR MP NOW'

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

"We urge committees and individuals to see their MPs and the prospective Parliamentary candidates in their area about these tests, either singly or in groups, says a statement issued by the National Council Against Nuclear Weapon Tests after the announcement that another British H-bomb test is to take place over Christmas Island.

"If your Member is opposed to tests, ask him to put questions down and to make sure all the facts are given in the House.

"If he is in favour of tests, ask him for all the facts about the new series, and make it clear that you are also seeing the other Parliamentary candidates.

"The results of your interviews should be sent to the Press."

MP's question

In the House of Commons last week Frank Allaun, MP, asked the Prime Minister if, in view of the suspension of the London Disarmament Conference, "he will consider offering to suspend the forthcoming series of H-bomb explosions at Christmas Island for as long as other nations suspend their s, in order to stop the nuclear arms race and a further increase in radio-activity."

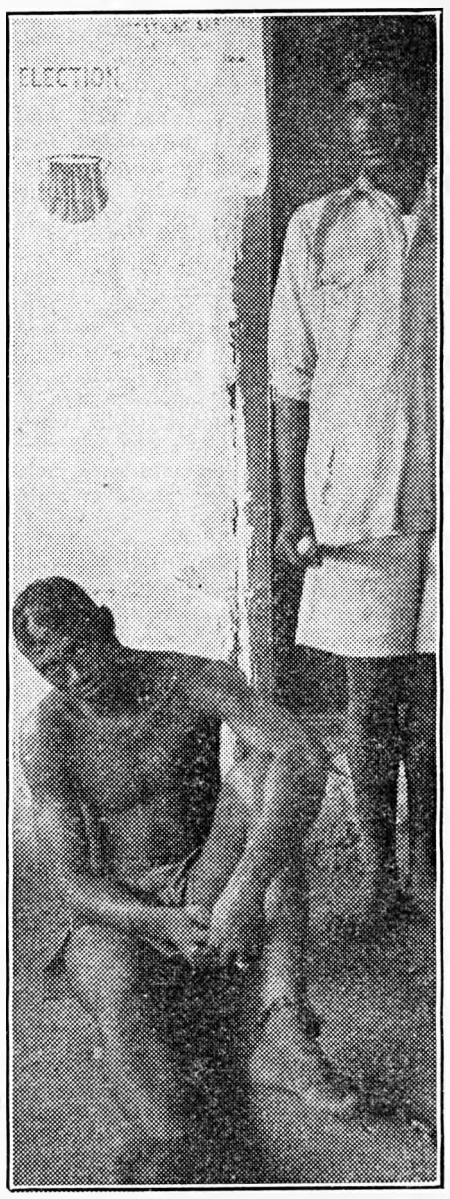
The Prime Minister: No, Sir. The Government . . . can only agree to a complete suspension of tests in return for the security promised by a disarmament agreement.

Disarmament by example

Mr. Allaun: Is it not clear that the traditional methods of attempting to secure disarmament have failed and that a generation of conferences has not managed to secure agreement on a single point and that, therefore, disarmament by example is the only way?

The Prime Minister: The hon. member raises very large questions of policy . . . it is not wise to send the Foreign Secretary naked into the council chamber. . .

IN SIERRA LEONE



Arrested without charge, tortured and put in chains, Mr. Toto was a polling agent of the Progressive Movement for Kono South, Sierra Leone, in this year's May elections. It was later alleged that he had broken a native customary law. When he was tried, after 11 days in custody, the allegations were found to have no foundation.

Police accused in diamond dispute

By TERENCE CHIVERS

NEW light was thrown on the reports of illicit diamond mining in Sierra Leone and many accusations of police atrocities were made by two citizens of Sierra Leone, Dr. Blyden, a former university lecturer, and Mr. Mbriwa, Member of the Sierra Leone House of Representatives, to a Movement for Colonial Freedom Press conference at the House of Commons last week.

Dr. Blyden and Mr. Mbriwa, both of the Sierra Leone Independence Movement, stated that the cause of the diamond mining dispute lay in the rights granted by the Sierra Leone Government to the Sierra Leone Selection Trust—a large diamond mining corporation—which rights were contested by the Africans.

Their accusations of corruption were not confined to the diamond industry alone, but extended to the entire social, economic and political life in Sierra Leone, with special reference to the recent elections in May this year. As the result of investigations since that election they pointed out that seven

● ON BACK PAGE

SAM WALSH recalls for younger Peace News readers the World War I Battle of Passchendaele which ground to a standstill in Belgium forty years ago. He is a member of the Peace Pledge Union and of the British Limbless Ex-servicemen's Association.

WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

I SUPPOSE that 40 years on a survivor of Passchendaele should be able to shrug off that 15 weeks' long battle as an episode in history.

I cannot do that. I believe I am entitled to ask why Passchendaele happened. Why were a generation of warring Europeans slaughtered wholesale in as stupidly conceived and stubbornly sustained a military "advance" as ever proved how retrograde is any warlike move?

In 1917 World War I had come to a standstill. Except in the political casinos of Europe, the correct and courtly circles of the High Commands, and by clearly deceived newspaper readers, the gamble of a break-through to victory by either side was considered hopeless.

□

NIGHT after night the skies opened and let down torrents of rain on to a landscape torn by hurricanes of high-explosive shells, whose churned-up craters formed a vast wilderness of bog that swallowed up tanks, guns, mules and men, rendering every attack as pointless as it was painful.

Worm's eye view

Mine was the worm's-eye view of a private in the front line—an eye ever staring up against it. On one battle morn, thankful to shelter behind the still warm body of a young officer; by nightfall a terrific worm that turned in the slime, desperately and murderously upon two other worms because they wore German uniforms. For my worm's-eye had learned only to observe, without blinking, the most preposterous of orders.

□

THOSE orders came from Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, as handsome an aristocrat as ever I looked up to, and one to whom no life was as precious as the military victory he felt England could win. He dismissed the horrors of Passchendaele as "exaggerated."

Who maintained Haig in such awful authority, and afterwards recommended that he be rewarded with an earldom and £100,000? None other than that man of the people, Mr. David Lloyd George. And why?

Too many years later, in his War Memoirs, came a plaintive plea from the wartime Premier that Haig and others had deliberately deceived the War Cabinet in order to go their wilful way about a campaign Lloyd-George had always distrusted. His charges, sweeping and specific in turn, were of deception on a scale so audacious as to discredit the militarists for evermore.

Life sacrificed

They included his being shown cages of German prisoners from which all the able-bodied had been removed to give the Premier a false impression of the quality of the front-line opposition. The serious misgivings of Haig's subordinates and French opposition to the Passchendaele plan were misrepresented. British victories were exaggerated and our casualties minimised, while German losses became pyramidical. Above all, human life was sacrificed with unforgivable prodigality.

□

THIS last charge, irrefutable as it was, came oddly from Mr. Lloyd-George, who elsewhere in his Memoirs said bravely that even if he and his colleagues could have foreseen the Great War's totals of 12,000,000 killed and 20,000,000 more mutilated, we could not have done other than declare war on August 4, 1914!

Nor did he appreciate the boomerang effect of such criticism as his:

"But in this war the generals knew that every able-bodied young man . . . could be called up for national service."

Reciting his half-hearted attempts to remove Haig and replace him with one who might be more economical of British gun-fodder, but equally ruthless in killing Germans, Mr. Lloyd-George did little more than remind us of his famous saying that a politician's first duty is to keep afloat!

His practical sympathy was about as firm as the Passchendaele mud in which the hopes and aspirations of an inarticulate younger generation sank and died.

It seems to me that as long as we elect statesmen who in turn appoint military leaders we shall have our Passchendaeles.

The ultimate responsibility is ours.

Tears from the general

"Perhaps the most damning comment on the plan which plunged the British Army in this bath of mud and blood is contained in an incidental revelation of the remorse of one who was largely responsible for it. This highly placed officer from General Headquarters was on his first visit to the battle front—at the end of the four months' battle. Growing increasingly uneasy as the car approached the swamp-like edges of the battle area, he eventually burst into tears, crying 'Good God, did we really send men to fight in that?' To which his companion replied that the ground was far worse ahead."—Liddell Hart, "The Real War."

Forty years on

By JOHN BARCLAY

John Barclay, Secretary of International Help for Children, was another survivor of the 1917 offensive who became a member (and at one time Organiser) of the Peace Pledge Union.

THE country surrounding the Belgian town of Passchendaele looked very peaceful as we drove along the Menin Road towards Ypres. The sun was shining on green fields and small farmsteads, and an occasional cart drawn by a heavily-shouldered horse stirred memories of a Belgium I had known in 1917.

* * *

Approaching the bridge over the small River Steenbeck, I became aware of a sudden nervous tension as if danger lay ahead, and this increased when the car topped the rise a quarter of a mile beyond the bridge.

It was at this spot 40 years before that I lay in the open field at midnight before the attack on the river below—an attack that was to be known in history as the Battle of Pilkem Ridge. Within five minutes of the barrage lifting my platoon of 28 men were dead or dying, and for 48 hours I lay there with two survivors before being able to crawl back to the old line.

For what purpose—and by whom remembered? The carefully-tended graveyards cluster on these radial roads like Dead Sea fruit. Long lines of white stones stand as silent witness to this appalling slaughter when 400,000 young men of my generation—British, German, French and other nations—died during the terrible months round Ypres. Those who organised our life seldom saw the results of their final deliberations—planning the attack on a well-printed map hanging in a warm hut far behind the lines.

* * *

Young men with no vocation for war, and little training, were ordered to advance over ground that was impassable—not once, but again and again. Those who died cannot testify to the manner of their death or to their faith in the sacrifice they made, but we who live can still remember the visions they had of a world free of war, and by keeping this vision clear be able to reflect its reality when speaking to the generation now at school. Forty years on will be too late—and WE shall be forgotten too.

Co-existence: spirit of Soviet film

A SOVIET motion-picture that deals with Anglo-Russian relations in an intelligent and friendly way, in what might be called the "true spirit of peaceful co-existence," is something that this Englisman considers worth while writing home about.

By RALPH PARKER

Former Moscow correspondent of the London Times, the New York Times and the London Daily Worker

"The Heart Remembers," a black-and-white feature film, is at present being made by the "Gorky" Film Studios in Moscow, under the direction of Tatyana Lioznova. The scenario is the work of Sergei Gerassimov, himself a leading director, who has just completed a new screen version of Sholokhov's novel "And Quiet Flows the Don." The leading rôles are being played by Alexei Popov, whose Iago in Yutkevich's Othello has been seen abroad, and by the well-known film actress Tamara Makarova. Many of the subsidiary English characters are being played by native-born Englishmen and women resident in Moscow.

Why do I think this picture worth writing home about? Because from its inception in the mind of the scenarist it has been intended as a contribution to better Anglo-Russian understanding. Because, like Sergei Obraztsov's delightful documentary of last year—it was shown here as "In London"—it presents Britain and its people in a wholly sympathetic light, without any deliberate distortion. And that, to my mind, is peace news indeed.

Sergei Gerassimov is an active member of the Supreme Soviet. Besides representing the interests of a small nation of the North Caucasus, known as the Adigeis, he is a member of the standing commission on foreign affairs and of what is known as the parliamentary group, which is composed of deputies interested in the Inter-Parliamentary Union. He has travelled widely since the war—in China, the United States, Britain and elsewhere. Quite recently he played host in Moscow to Ernest Davies, the Labour MP for Enfield East, and to the Conservative MP for Louth, Cyril Osborne.

Gerassimov therefore turned to writing his scenario with what might be called a professional knowledge of its subject—Anglo-Soviet relations. "The Heart Remembers" promises, in fact, to be one of the most human, warm-hearted films to have been made in Moscow for a long time.

★

A LONDON engineer, Ralph Chadwick, is co-piloting an American Flying Fortress during a shuttle-raid in 1943. His presence in the aircraft is to be explained by the fact that he speaks some Russian. Over German-occupied territory in Western Russia the aircraft is hit and Chadwick bails out. He lands, wounded, in the forest and makes his way to a burned-out village.

There, in a state of complete exhaustion, he is found by a school-teacher, Katarina Ivanovna, who is returning from the village graveyard where she has just buried her father. Except for a small boy who serves as a runner for Russian partisans in the nearby forest, Katarina is entirely alone in the war-wrecked village.

She tends Chadwick's wounds and hides with him when a German punitive detachment passes through the place. Later the little boy leads them to the partisans' hiding-place. There is heavy fighting in which Katarina is wounded. Moscow sends a light aircraft for the British pilot and he is eventually sent back to Britain.

★

HIS days in Russia and particularly the character of the bereaved school-teacher left a deep and lasting impression on Chadwick, and when we see him again, some 15 years later, a London engineer celebrating his fiftieth birthday at a family party among his closest friends, his attitude to the Soviet Union is in marked contrast to his companions'. Not that he is uncritically "pro-Soviet." His views on Russia are, in fact, no closer to those of the fellow-traveller Briggs, the journalist, than they are to those of Higby, the university lecturer who is definitely "anti."

What Chadwick remembers of Russia is the depth of its ordinary people's suffering during the war and the essential decency of those people, their generosity to a fellow man in distress, with whom they were ready to share their last crust. And this not only causes him to reject the opposing views of his friends but to feel somewhat out of sympathy with his conventional life in post-war Britain.

Is he in love with Katerina? Certainly, his heart harbours a deep and abiding affection for this Russian woman.

During dinner Chadwick announces his intention of returning to Russia as a tourist. Two of his friends decide to accompany him, and the second part of the picture shows the three British tourists in Moscow, seeing the sights that a good many foreigners have been seeing this year here. Eventually they find the village Chadwick knew in the war, though now of course it has been rebuilt and the country lad who led him into partisan land is now grown up. And Katerina? It would be unfair to reveal the end of Chadwick's search for her. It is unexpected and deeply moving.

★

THE brief outline of the story should be enough to show how far we have travelled since the days when public reference to an Anglo-Russian friendship of this nature was tabu, the unhappy days of the "Russian brides" affair.

Apart from the subject matter of the film, the actual taking of it is turning out to be an interesting experiment in Anglo-Russian co-operation. Not that this is a co-production in the usual sense of the word. The responsibility for "The Heart Remembers" is soley Soviet. But an English consultant is employed, an English language teacher is in attendance to instruct the Russian actor playing Chadwick how to speak some of his lines in English and—much more difficult—how to speak broken Russian convincingly, and, as I have mentioned, some of the parts are acted by British residents in Moscow.

Working together, this Anglo-Russian team is providing a model of "creative co-existence," people of two lands happy to think that they are making some contribution to solving the problem of getting to know each other better.

The picture should be ready next spring.

Frogs with 20 legs

Nuclear waste suspected

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

ANSWERING a question in the Lower Chamber of the Dutch States-General on the subject of the abnormal frogs (some with twenty legs) found in a ditch used for its waste material by the Amsterdam Nuclear Research Institute, the Netherlands Minister for Social Affairs and Public Health said in a carefully-worded statement on October 18 that in the present state of scientific knowledge it could not be decided whether a direct relationship existed between these abnormalities and the nuclear waste.

Earlier there had been denials by scientists of any relationship between radiation and the abnormalities.

ALL RACES TOGETHER IN NEW CENTRAL AFRICAN PARTY

From BASIL DELAINE

A MULTI-RACIAL political party which was formed in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland last month has pledged itself to establish a society free from racial discrimination. The common voters' roll was also accepted.

This new liberal political group—the Constitution Party—had its inaugural meeting at the home, in Lusaka, of the "grandfather" of Central Africa's few white Liberal politicians, Dr. Alexander Scott, who is in his seventies.

More than 100 people attended the meeting—Africans, Coloureds, Europeans and Asiatics.

The party will oppose any legislation which could lead to an increase in the status for the Federation if the legislation is not in accordance with the preamble to the Federal Constitution.

It accepted that until such time as its constitution becomes the constitution of the country it will be bound by the present Federal Constitution, and in particular the preamble.

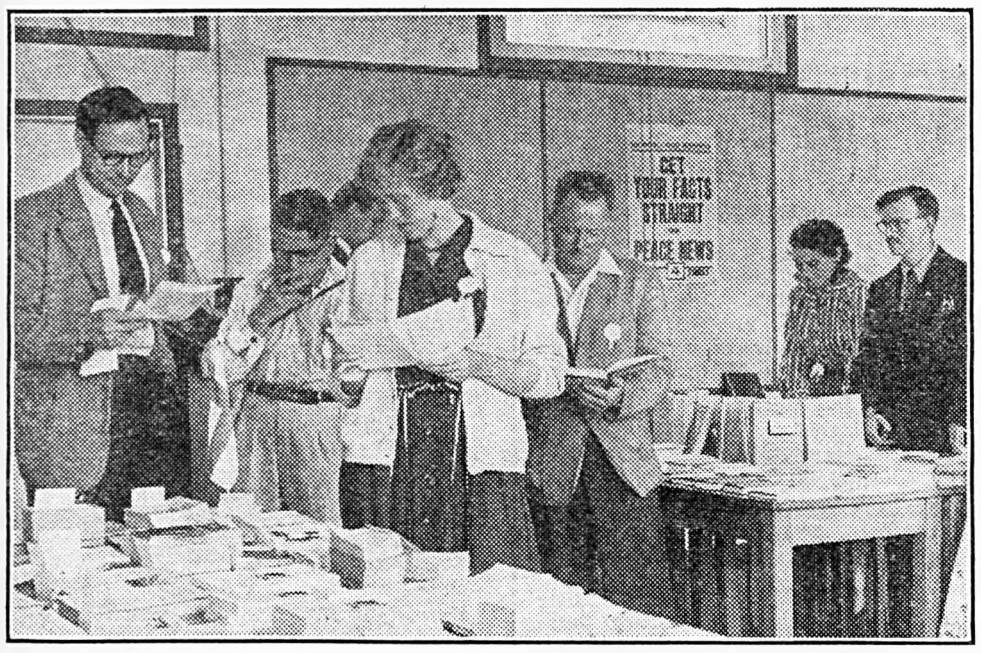
European dismay

Among those present were: Colonel Stirling, chief of the Capricorn Africa Society; Mr. Harry Franklin, Northern Rhodesia's Member for Education and Social Services, and president of the Northern Rhodesian Multi-racial Society; Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, leader of the African Mineworkers' Union; Mr. S. H. Chileshe, Member of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council.

Dr. Scott said that no other party in the Federation had ever had, racially, such a start.

It is understood that Federal and Territorial elections will be contested by the party.

General European reaction to the party's launching is one of dismay, following, as it does, hard on the heels of Sir Arthur Benson's "We've got to live cheek by jowl with the African" speech, and talk of eventual racial integration in schools.



Helga Stolle of the Hamburg WRI, who concludes on this page her series of three articles on the German elections, is seen here third from left examining Housman's bookstall at the July Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International held in London. Harry Mister, Manager of Peace News (extreme left), is standing next to Hein van Wijk, a Dutch legal expert on conscientious objection law.

Aborigines: moves for new laws

By MARGARET TIMS

A PETITION calling for new Federal laws with respect to aborigines was delivered to Senator Gorton, leader of the Government Party in the Australian Senate (Federal Upper House), on Oct. 4, with 15,570 signatures, including some from all six states. Senator Gorton was due to present it in the Senate on Oct 8.

The Petition, which was circulated by Mrs. Anna Vroland of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, with the support also of the Melbourne and Hobart Trades Councils and the Aborigines Advancement League, emphasises that there have been "repeated revelations of conditions under which aboriginal people have been forced to live," and that "appeals to successive Governments have not brought sufficient amelioration of conditions.

AMEND CONSTITUTION

"We want Australian aborigines to be treated as human beings, with rights to have inviolate possession of tribal lands, or, if detribalised, to be able to work and live at least as well as they did before white men came to this country, and to be able to get help to adapt to new ways of living."

Since the Australian Constitution (Section 51, Part 5, Cl. 26 of 1901) expressly denies to the Federal Parliament power to make laws with respect to aborigines in any state, the petition asks that "a change should be made in the Constitution so that there could be created a Commonwealth Department of Native Affairs to co-ordinate policy and administration throughout Australia."

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE

6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

RADIO REACTIONS

THE place: Dick Sheppard House. The date: October 29. The arrangements made for printing Peace News require me to send in this appeal ten days before publication. I cannot, therefore, tell you what the fund response will be to my special appeal in connection with the twentieth anniversary of the death of Dick Sheppard.

In the past fortnight the PPU Headquarters Fund has gone up by £23, but I feel sure that we are going to receive a great deal more than that. We were all grateful for the opportunity which was given in the broadcast on October 27, and I am hoping that many of our members will be encouraged to make a special contribution to the work of the Peace Pledge Union and that others will join us. The first letter addressed "Dick Sheppard House, London," has just arrived by post.

A really large delivery of cheques and postal orders and of new pledge-cards would be the most fitting celebration of Dick Sheppard's anniversary, even if this time they would not require a special van.

If you are persuaded that Dick Sheppard was right but have not yet sent in your pledge-card, please do so now. If you have changed your address or been out of touch with us, please drop up a postcard. If you are still determined that Dick Sheppard's work must go on and is more than ever necessary, but have been doing nothing much about it, please renew your activities with your local Group and send up to PPU Headquarters Fund your share of the money which is necessary. Headquarters Fund has still to raise at least £385 by the end of the year.

STUART MORRIS, General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,150.

Amount received to date: £765.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Shanty towns danger

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

IF the Southern Rhodesian Government did not act soon, native shanty towns and violent crime would become features of Salisbury, the Federal and Territorial capital. This was stated by Mr. L. Boshoff, the city's Mayor, last week.

He was discussing the statement by the Chairman of the Health, Housing and Native Administration Committee that influx control could no longer be exercised because the Southern Rhodesian Government would not allow Salisbury to raise money for African housing.

"It is an alarming situation," said the Mayor. "Thousands of Africans are trekking into the city. They are crawling into holes, shanties, gutters and hovels—anywhere they can find shelter."

The Mayor said that meanwhile crime figures were growing more and more serious.

"This is a frightening picture—but if the Government would untie our hands the municipality could put things right. We could easily raise loans for African housing. But because the Government is afraid we would spoil the market for them, they won't allow it."

European Economic Co-operation No. 8.

What is ECE?

Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) is a United Nations organisation within the Department of Economic and Social Affairs. As such it covers the whole of Europe and is not confined just to W. Europe. One of its main functions is the assembly and dissemination of information about the economic situation in Europe; it publishes an annual Economic Survey of Europe.

These notes on European Economic Co-operation are taken from No. 2 of Documents on World Affairs (United World Education and Research Trust, 29 Great Jones St., London, W.C.1. 6d.).

THE GERMAN ELECTION

What now for German pacifists ?

By HELGA STOLLE

WHAT does the German election mean for pacifists ?

A young pacifist here in Hamburg gave me this opinion: "Now the chaff will be sifted from the wheat."

It is certain that we pacifists will now have to struggle not only against dangerous power politics but also against limitations of freedom of conscience and encroachments on other fundamental rights.

It is no longer certain that the pacifist organisations will be allowed to conduct their work as they have in the past. Abuses will increase. Some irresolute pacifists will prefer an easier way.

Doubtless events will occur to challenge our faith in non-violent resistance.

If we are not blind, we shall have to acknowledge that the greater the danger the greater the demand for action and not for words; programmes not ideals; co-operation not isolation from all the forces at work in society.

We shall learn that the drive for the disbanding of the army and for German reunification must of necessity come from pacifism.

This election was not only a step towards totalitarianism but also a step towards suicide—and not for the German people alone.

Will the pacifist forces in Germany learn to co-operate ?

Will there at last be a number of qualified leaders and groups on which we can rely ?

Shall we be able to convince others by persuasion and our willingness to sacrifice?

We are challenged. How shall we answer ?

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

DONALD SOPER

writes every week

GET YOUR COPY NOW—

NAME .....

.....

ADDRESS .....

.....

222 STRAND, LONDON, W.C.2

Subs: 6months 16s. 12 months £1 12s.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Advertiser's announcement:

RELIGIOUS FLASHPOINT

ARMISTICE SERVICE—Sunday, November 10

The Bishop Tells the Pacifists :

When the bishops were asked to avoid making Armistice Services the occasion for patriotic demonstrations, the Bishop of X replied :—

"The Church of England was right when, in the 16th century, it included in one of the Thirty-Nine Articles the statement that 'It is lawful for Christian men, at the command of the magistrate, to wear weapons and to serve in the wars.' This being the Church's official view, I think it is natural and right that public services of thanksgiving and commemoration, at Armistice-tide and other occasions should be planned so as to accord with the convictions of the majority of Christian folk . . . those who hold pacifist views need not take part."

In other words the tenets of the Church imply that Christians should take part in these patriotic displays and if the pacifists don't like it they can do the other thing. The other thing, of course, is to consider the case for a Pacifist Church.

Wallace Hancock. Movement for a Pacifist Church, 8 Barclay Oval Woodford Wells, Essex.

IN PERSPECTIVE

FRITH

Marshal Zhukov's downfall

THE explanation given out by Moscow about the reasons for Marshal Zhukov's expulsion from the Central Committee and the Presidium of the Soviet Communist Party is probably completely true.

With the historical example to guide them of Napoleon's quick rise to one-man power after the end of the Terror period of the French Revolution, and with their own fears during the whole of the Stalin régime still fresh in their minds and bones, the men who have ousted Marshal Zhukov were not likely to be blind to the dangers inherent in a war hero's great popularity.

But whether all the steps for the Marshal's demotion were, or were not, taken while he was away on his visit to Yugoslavia, so that it must have come to him as a particularly cruel blow on what he was hoping would be a triumphant return to Moscow, is a matter of importance only to his personal feelings.

Amidst the mass of contradictory comment one observation has occurred more frequently than any other: that Mr.Khrushchov's own position, particularly after this open display of ruthlessness against the man who gave him most help a bare few months ago, is anything but safe. That, too, may be true; but it is not in our view the most significant factor in the new situation.

Leaving aside the possibility of Mr. Khrushchov's own downfall, which would probably result in the return of the much fiercer Mr. Molotov and his associates, there is the psychological effect to be considered on "the man in the centre" of the removal, one after another, of all those showing signs of threatening his supremacy. In other words, is Russia not again walking forward in the direction of a neo-Stalinism in the guise of Khrushchovism?

It might be doing so without either the Russian people or Mr. Khrushchov himself realising the trend.

Tribunal and the CO

THE Government is to be congratulated on having accepted the greater part of the recommendations of the Franks' Committee on Administrative Tribunals, and on having provided an early opportunity of debating its Report.

As Fenner Brockway said in the House last week in "the relationship of individual liberty with the growing power of the State . . . this Report makes a contribution which extends personal freedom."

Nowhere does it do this more than in relation to the tribunal for conscientious objectors which "does not have to decide a matter of fact, but has to decide an issue of mind and of spirit."

The Committee in its Report has made specific recommendations to meet every one of the criticisms put forward by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors. Some of these would need legislation to bring them into force, for instance, the right of appeal to the courts on a point of law, and the general oversight by the Council on Tribunals which is to be appointed.

Many more of the recommendations require only administrative action, such as the provision of accommodation to give the informality of atmosphere stressed as being so important, and the reduction in average age of tribunal members. In fact, one, the circulation of decisions of the Appellate Tribunal for the guidance of Local Tribunals, requires only the reversion to a policy adopted by the Ministry of Labour during the 1939-45 war but since discontinued.

The Government was pressed to apply these recommendations without waiting for legislation.

The Attorney-General, Sir Reginald Manningham-Buller, told Parliament that generally the Government "will press on with administrative arrangements which do not need legislation as soon as we can." But later he suggested some delay might be caused by the need to work out details, and that it might be necessary to consult the Council on Tribunals which has yet to be set up.

There can be no justification for delay in view of the unqualified recommendations of the Report. As Fenner Brockway said: ". . . in the long run, a nation will more than by anything else be judged by how it treats the claims of conscience, how it treats a man's sense of right and wrong, and how it treats individual personality in these things."

In the next few months we shall learn whether this Government is to be judged finally by its endless prevarication on such matters of principle.

Dogs and humans

EVEN before the BBC had finished its announcement of the launching of Sputnik II people were ringing up Broadcasting House to protest at the sending into space of a live dog.

This is as it should be, but it would be well if more of these kind humanitarian people who are stirred into action by the sufferings of a dog, would get together to form a society for the protection of the human animal against the satanic combination of the war machine and science.

They should be protesting as vigorously at the appalling preparations for a war of extermination going on all the time in America, in Russia and in this country.

So far as nuclear weapons, bacteriological warfare and all the other horrors which are being prepared for humans are concerned, most of us are, after all, as dumb, as defenceless and as uncomprehending as any member of the animal kingdom. No one asks us whether we wish to be "defended" by these means any more than the dog who asked whether it would volunteer for the journey into space.

A society for the protection of humans against war would have to object not to this or that weapon, nor this or that experiment, but to war itself, which is the ultimate threat.

That perhaps is the reason why it has not yet been formed.

It is up to the pacifist organisations and every single one of their members to realise that they alone in the whole wide world have espoused the cause of protecting man against the unnecessary suffering of war.

Death sentence

HO HUU-TUNG, a Vietnamese pacifist and an occasional contributor to Peace News, has, with 22 other accused compatriots, been condemned to death by the Saigon Military Tribunal.

Ho Huu-Tung, who is a Buddhist, had already suffered a period of imprisonment under the Bao Dai Government for having sought a peaceful solution to the differences that separated the various political and religious groups struggling for ascendancy in Vietnam.

During the anti-colonial struggle for the freedom of Indo-China from French domination Ho Huu-Tung was already advocating a policy of neutralism for an independent Indo-China. He made contact with the international Third Way movement and was the author of a pamphlet published in English, "The Only Good Way."

There is, of course, as little political freedom in Vietnam as there is in any of the totalitarian states.

Ho Huu-Tung seems to have fallen a victim to his attempts to act as a peaceful negotiator as between rebel groups and the Government of Ngo Dinh Diem, although there is a certain vicious strain manifested in incidental attacks upon him by the Government prosecutor, which seems to point to an element of personal vengeance entering into the matter.

Readers may appeal for clemency in this case to the Ambassador, Ngo Dinh Luyen, 12 Victoria Road, London, W.8.

Telephone tapping

WHEN telephone tapping and the "supervisory" opening of people's letters became a matter of public concern as a result of the Marrinan case, most people probably thought, after they had got over their first shock, that the promised investigation would reveal this government-authorised eavesdropping as more extensive than it is now seen to be.

But the fact that it is done at all and is to continue, odious enough in itself, is also a sign of the times: just one more instance of the ever diminishing respect for the freedom of the individual and of the accumulation of more and more power by central authority.

The Times, in a leading article on Nov. 1, did well to condemn particular abuses of the past and to include in its condemnation the investigators' recommendation that no further figures of "interceptions" should be published. But it went a long way towards neutralising what it had said in general disapproval by also saying with somewhat fatuous optimism "we are still a good twenty-seven years from (George Orwell's) 1984."

If we continue along the present lines, there may not be left a great deal for us to quarrel about with Moscow at the end of those twenty-seven years in the field of authoritarianism—but that will be the wrong field in which to strive for harmony of ideas.

Editorial and Publishing office.
3 Blackstock Road
London, N.4
Tel: STAmford Hill 2262

PEACE NEWS

November 8, 1957

Distribution office for U.S.A.
20, S. Twelfth St.,
Philadelphia 7, Pa.
Reg'd as a newspaper. Entered as second class matter at Post Office, Philadelphia, Pa.

NUCLEAR NONSENSE

IN an article of passionate feeling but of great lucidity on nuclear bombs in the New Statesman last week Mr. J. B. Priestley said that "what was unthinkable a few years ago now at best seems unlikely and very soon may seem inevitable."

How true this is. Look back two years to the "Summit" meeting of the Big Four, at Geneva. Pravda and Izvestia were welcoming the new spirit of co-operation, President Eisenhower was declaring that the prospects of lasting peace were bright, Sir Anthony Eden that there was a better chance of solving the differences that divided Europe, and the French leader, M. Faure, that the talks would leave a profound mark on international relations.

Two years later the statesmen are again talking of a "Summit" meeting. But this time it is to tighten up the European war organisation and deepen the division of the world into two antagonistic power blocs.

★ ★

ANYBODY closely watching what the statesmen are doing and saying will recognise with Mr. Priestley "the curious air of somnambulism there is about our major international affairs, the steady drift from bad to worse, the speeches that begin to sound meaningless, the conferences that achieve nothing, all the persons of great consequence who somehow seem like puppets."

For one example of this puppet-like unreality look at the editorial comments of the New Statesman itself, in which it seeks to nullify Mr. Priestley's "divine irresponsibility"—which has nevertheless "all the ring of sanity." For another see the comments on page one of Mr. George Brown, Labour's shadow "Defence" Minister—an even more alarming example, coming as it does from a man in whose hands our fate may actually be placed.

The New Statesman tries to counter Mr. Priestley's sanity with Mr. Bevan's case before the Labour Party Conference.

We need the H-bomb, not for itself the New Statesman argues, but to keep in with NATO so that at the appropriate time we may be in a position to walk out. We walk out if we cannot get a Western acceptance of the Oder-Neisse line, a plan for disengagement in Germany, and co-operation with Russia in dealing with Middle East problems. For the extra influence in these matters that the "walk-out" threat will give us we are to retain the H-bomb and engage in the new race for the development of more and more terrible "deterrents."

Says Mr. Priestley: "Most of those who are in the VIP-Highest-Priority-Top-Secret-Top-People class [are] men now so conditioned by this atmosphere of power politics, intrigue, secrecy, insane invention, that they are more than half-barmy." Surely the Editor of the New Statesman is still capable of standing in an outer circle of sanity.

Mr. George Brown is in a different position. To listen to him is to experience a full blast of the despair that our new brand of statesmen-psychopaths can produce. Mr. Brown believes that "there is a lot of exaggerated nonsense talked about H-bombs . . .It is much less available as a weapon than we tend to think." He nevertheless declares his firm belief in it as a deterrent.

★ ★

WHY on earth should Mr. Brown regard the H-bomb as a deterrent?

If Geneva's Big Four were wrong in saying that there can be no victor in a nuclear war, and if it is exaggerated nonsense to say that a nuclear attack will totally destroy Britain, why should Russia be deterred by the fact that the USA and Britain each possess the H-bomb?

In his lecture to the Royal United Services Institution Sir Stephen King-Hall said that Marshal Verchinin, the Russian Air Force C-in-C, holds similar views to Mr. Brown, only in reverse: the Marshal thought that Russia could do more damage to the USA in a nuclear attack than the USA could do to Russia.

If Marshal Verchinin and Mr. Brown really hold these views, there is nothing final as a deterrent about the H-bomb for either of them, and Sir Stephen King-Hall was clearly right when he said that far from keeping its H-bomb contrivances secret each side should say to the other: "In case by some dreadful mischance you should doubt our ability to obliterate you by retaliation, is there anything we can tell you or show you to prevent you indulging in delusions?"

In fact, the nonsense of nuclear secrecy goes deeper.

Both the USA and Britain emphasise that their continuing series of experimental tests is for the production of "cleaner" and "cleaner" bombs, when it is surely obvious that in nuclear warfare it is even more desirable that it shall be the enemy who is equipped with "clean" bombs.

The whole thing has become topsy-turvy, and, as Mr. Priestley remarks, "the whole proceedings take place in the stifling secrecy of an expensive lunatic asylum."

RELIGIOUS NEWS AND VIEWS
a monthly column by
STUART MORRIS

Waste of time

A CLOSELY reasoned plea by Rear-Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard for a recognition of the difference between a total global and limited atomic warfare occupied a large place on the agenda of the thirty-first meeting of the British Council of Churches.

The Council has set up a sub-committee which is to present recommendations on nuclear armaments, and speaking to a preliminary report, Sir Anthony suggested four ways of helping to close the gap between Church opinion and national policies on atomic warfare. They included restating the legal principle of the "just war" as a target at which the Wesern nations should aim.

That strangely seems to suggest that the policy of the Western nations should be to become involved in a just war. A further suggestion was that the Western nations should disclaim any intention of fighting a global war, but that they should retain only enough of such weapons as to make total nuclear war thoroughly repugnant.

The Western nations should also explain the difference between limited atomic war and total global war and why they considered that war could be strictly limited.

Finally, they should build up their strength in Germany in order to escape from the dilemma of having to use the H-bomb first.

Apt comments on the Rear Admiral's proposals came in two letters to the Manchester Guardian, one of which suggested that the British Council should ask whether any useful purpose was served by inviting speakers whose declarations were so much out of line with the Churches' views.

The Archbishop of Canterbury concluded the discussion with illustrations of the "frightful questions" from the theological standpoint which might arise as the Council studied the proposals. In the series of questions he suggested there was no mention of asking "what is the mind of Christ on the problem of war".

Church and industry

DEALING with the place of religion in industry at a gathering of the National Union of Manufacturers, the Archbishop of Canterbury deplored the stupidity of the industrial situation, but although he said "It cannot go on like this. How can this evil process of charge and counter-charge be solved?" he did not think that the Church could break through without being misunderstood.

His only suggestion was that when strikes occur each side should state its case in an agreed composite document, which would include a statement of the cost of the claims made and the source from which the additional money was to come.

There is little wonder that the London correspondent of the Manchester Guardian suggested that those present were possibly left less sure of the place of religion in industry than they had been at the beginning of the Archbishop's speech. Unfortunately what applies to industry applies to so many other fields of human relationships—including relationships with other people who are no less God's children even if they are apparently regarded as legitimate victims of nuclear weapons.

Clergy's stop-test petition

FROM California comes the news that nearly 700 clergymen have sent a vigorous petition to the heads of government of the United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia, urging the abolition of nuclear weapon tests.

Although they claim that they are the first Protestant American churchmen to do this, they apparently go no further than to ask for agreement on the cessation of tests.

It might have been expected that as they were basing their appeal on the Christian Gospel, they would have found it necessary to ask for something much more far-reaching than the abolition of tests.

HAS FRENCH AFRICA FOUND ITS NEHRU?

The French theory of union with its overseas territories is now dead in "Black Africa" as everywhere else.

By Fenner Brockway MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

THE French colonial theory is that their territories overseas should become part of France, the indigenous peoples electing representatives to the Assembly in Paris on attaining certain standards of education. The theory has not worked. Glance at what has happened since World War II.

French territories in India were conceded to the new Indian Republic, but reluctantly and belatedly Syria was evacuated after a reckless bombardment of Damascus. French Indo-China was surrendered after the futile loss of lives and much waste of money. Morocco and Tunisia were recognised as sovereign States after years of repression. This tragic story is now being repeated even more disastrously in Algeria.

We sometimes forget, however, that these territories were only a small part of the French Empire.

Consult a map, and you will probably be surprised, as I was, to find that French Africa covers more than one-third of the Continent.

It sweeps south from Algeria across the Sahara, broadening out to the bulging West Coast at Dakar and east to the Sudan; it moves across Central Africa far down to Portuguese Angola in the south. Britain's largest colony, Nigeria, despite its 30,000,000 people, appears small compared with this vast sub-continent in the background.

"Black Africa" emerging

To most of the world, French West and Equatorial Africa is unknown. I have flown over it, descending at lonely airports: the Sahara desert yellow to the horizon; Dahomey, edging Ghana on the Atlantic, with its incredibly neat cocoanut plantations; Fort Lamy, half way across the continent, burning with heat, the flies so thick that they hit the face like a stone—here, still more incredibly, a little French restaurant that might be in Paris, with uniformed men sitting along the bar and with dining tables for intimate meals. Montmartre in the depths of "Darkest Africa"!

The population over French Africa is thinly scattered, but oil is suspected in the Sahara; underground water pumped to the surface could make the sand fertile; minerals are there further south, probably uranium; timber is inexhaustible. Limitless possibilities of wealth.

Unknown to most of the world; but "Black Africa" is emerging. Emerging with a bang.

What is its response to the Paris theory of union with the imperial motherland?

I have been reading reports of the recent congress of the Rassemblement Democratique Africain (known in Africa as the RDA). It met at Bamako, the capital of French Sudan. The proceedings are a revelation. It may well be that this congress will be a turning point in African history.

Sekon-Toure's speech

The RDA is 11 years old. For a time the movement was alleged to be under Communist influence; it was proscribed and its leaders were imprisoned. But in recent years it has become highly respectable. Mr. Houphouet Boigny, its president, was appointed head of the Grand Council of French Soudan. Many other leaders became Ministers in the eight territories of French West Africa and of the four territories of French Equatorial Africa. The theme of the movement was African-French collaboration.

It was in this spirit that two prominent Frenchmen, M. Edgar Faure, then a Minister, and M. Millerand, an ex-Minister, were invited to address the congress at Bamako. All was set for the endorsement of union with France. The twelve territories of West and Equatorial Africa would link directly and separately with Paris, sending their representatives to the French Assembly. French India, Syria, Indo-China, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria might insist on independence; but French "Black Africa" would remain French.

Before the end of the congress a profound change took place. A hint of it came when a reference to the struggle for independence in Algeria was acclaimed and, still more enthusiastically, the achievement of independence in Ghana. The decisive moment was the speech of M. Sekon-Touré.

Note this name. It may become as important for French Africa as Nehru has been for India.

Sekon-Touré already has a notable record. He is the leader of the RDA in French Guinea and its Prime Minister. His ideas were not flung at the congress unprepared. He had secured the unanimous endorsement of the Grand Council at Dakar. The effect of his speech to the Bamako Congress was the more impressive because he was not present in person. He had had an accident and broken some ribs. His words were tape-recorded from his bed in his hotel. The delegates listened in profound silence and gave the absent leader an ovation at the end.

Sekon-Touré argued against the representation of the States of West and Equatorial Africa in the French Parliament. Instead there should be Federal Parliaments for the two areas selected by adult suffrage with full legislative powers.

He was prepared to concede a joint French-West-Equatorial body to plan a common economic policy and perhaps a common policy in defence and foreign affairs; but French West and Equatorial Africa must become independent. The Congress overwhelmingly endorsred this view.

The significance of the Bamako congress is immense. The new policy cannot be dismissed as a temporary emotional outburst. The proceedings gave evidence of mature consideration; the delegates were representative and responsible. Nor can Sekon-Touré be dismissed lightly. No one will call him a Communist. He is a radical nationalist, constructive, strong-minded, powerful in personality, a born leader. His first purpose is unity in French "Black Africa," but fundamentally he does not accept the frontiers made by Europe. He is Pan-African.

United States of Africa

Wide new prospects open out for the years ahead. The British territories in West Africa cannot remain unaffected. Nigeria, Ghana—in time Sierra Leone and Gambia—will move towards a Federation which will ignore colonial frontiers. Belgian Congo, with its new Nationalist movement, will be drawn into the wider stream. Sudan will become responsive. Half of the African Continent will seek ways to federate.

The repercussions will spread to British East Africa, to British Central Africa, even to South Africa.

The United States of Africa has been conceived. Mother Africa will labour long and painfully, but the Child will be born.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

H-protests

I HAVE attended protest meetings against nuclear bomb tests in London and the provinces and taken a fairly active part in the campaign myself. It struck me that some of the protests lacked full force because there was not enough fusion (I use the word deliberately) of thought between those people who objected to the tests on "moral" grounds and those who protested on the basis of endangering human health. I see no need for this division.

The manufacture and testing of these bombs which implies that, at a given moment, we must atomise our enemies or be atomised ourselves, is likely to sow the seeds of disease in the human body as rapidly and as inevitably as radio-active dust. This not only applies to nervous disorders but to such killing diseases as cancer, which, as Dr. Wilhelm Reich and others have shown, is a disease of neurogenic tension (the result of nerve panic).

Our approach to the problem of how to stop the tests should be made along a wider front. We must accept or reject in toto. There will be casualties of Peace. They are inescapable. You cannot profess, as some unthinking people do, to believe in God and the atom bomb. It is either one or the other. If we reject the manufacture of the nuclear bomb as a weapon of the devil whose evil radiations will leak out somewhere whatever precautions we take, we automatically reject infantile notions about Civil Defence founded on the fantasy that, once a nulear war is let loose, the enemy will hurl one bomb at a time to give the rescuers a sporting chance, and the acceptance—against scientific evidence—that there are no after effects which will kill, maim and blind in slow and torturous degrees more devastatnig than immediate annihilation.

The delicate human nervous system is not made to withstand the onslaught of what has been called "The Horror Plumed." We must lodge our protests on humanist grounds—which implies a fundamental belief in Man—irrespective of religious scruples or genetic hazards and the like. It is not so much a question of whether we shall survive as whether, as a race, we deserve to survive.—**PARNELL BRADBURY, 53, Hove Park Villas, Hove, Sussex.**

Windscale

THE Windscale catastrophe exposes the folly of siting these plants in agricultural and productive areas. Should they not be built in some such place as Whitehall, where they could not damage anything of much importance to the country?—**AUSTIN LEE, Clifden, Co. Galway.**

A soldier's religion

TO swear by Almighty God—even if at the time one had no religious belief—does not for any purpose affect the validity of such oath (Oaths Act, 1888, Sec. 3). Reynold's atheistic brother was as muddled as the Colonel.—**H. E. EVANS, 220, Arlington Road, N.W.1.**

Special postal offer to new readers

8 PEACE NEWS 2s. 6d.

(US 13 weeks for $1)

Please send PEACE NEWS for..... to the name and address below.

I enclose £.....

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

.....

PEACE NEWS
3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4

STANDARD RATES

Great Britain:
Ten wks. 5s.; 20 wks. 10s.; One yr. 25s.
Abroad (Sea Mail):
Twelve wks. 5s. 6d.; 24 wks. 11s.; One yr. 23s.
AIR MAIL SUBSCRIPTION RATES
N. Africa and Middle East:
Twelve wks. 7s.; 24 wks. 14s.; One yr. 30s.
India, South, East and West Africa
America and S.E. Asia:
Twelve wks. 8s.; 24 wks. 16s.; One yr. 34s.
Australia and Far East:
Twelve wks. 9s.; 24 wks. 18s.; One yr. 38s.
AIR EXPRESS EDITION
to US and all parts of America, from our US Sales Office, c/o American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia 7, Pa. $5 year $1 three months.

OR hand this to your newsagent

Please deliver PEACE NEWS to me weekly

To M.....
(Newsagent's name)

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Concluding Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's "The Alternative to the Nuclear Deterrent: Non-violent Resistance"

A NEW DEFENCE STRATEGY

This is the concluding instalment of a lecture delivered before an audience of senior officers and military experts in the Royal United Services Institution, Whitehall, last month. Among those present were Field-Marshal Auchinleck and Admiral Sir Guy Russell, Commandant of the Imperial Defence College. Rear Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard was in the chair.

Sir Stephen opened his lecture by examining the nature of war, dealing later with the defence of institutions and ideas and the role of military force today.

Last week, in an editorial, Peace News said:

"Perhaps because of a need for careful presentation of his case in a framework suitable for academic military circles, Sir Stephen has seemed too easily to share the false assumptions that invariably disfigure military thinking."

Sir Stephen, who is asking for a high-level inquiry into non-violent resistance as an alternative to military defence, is to expand his ideas in a book to be published by Gollancz early next year.

YOU have heard me give you some of the reasons why I think our major present military defence arrangements are unsatisfactory, and we have considered the idea of the deterrent upon which they are in the last resort based.

I dare say that some people here will be with me up to the point of saying: "Yes—our defences, as you have pointed out, and the idea on which they are based, may not be so hot as all that. Nothing is perfect. But is there an alternative?" To quote a well-known Bairnsfather cartoon:

"If you know a better 'ole, go there!"

Is there a better hole—or, to be exact, a better idea? That is what we must now find out.

The new idea which I think it worth looking into is that the UK should make a unilateral declaration that it will make no use of nuclear energy for military purposes.

I have found that quite a lot of people say: "That sounds rather attractive," and I then discover that they have no idea of what they are letting themselves in for.

The implications

Mr. Bevan, for example, who as recently as last May was, if I understood him aright, in favour of the kind of idea I am suggesting should be looked into, has had a peep and changed his mind rather smartly.

What I am sure he has not done—and this goes for all our political leaders—is to bring himself to believe that if you look hard enough and long enough there is a new and unexpected field of defence beyond the frontiers of violence.

Let us see what we would be letting ourselves in for:

Point one: I do not think there would be much hope of the USA agreeing to participate in such an idea, and probably Canada would follow suit.

This means that NATO as we know it would be wound up. Obviously we could not have American nuclear forces in Britain. By our action we should place ourselves on a par with all other non-nuclear States.

NATO could be replaced by ETO, a European Treaty Organisation pledged not to use nuclear energy for military purposes. But this, of course, is not by any means the end of the story. The decision not to use nuclear energy for military purposes would include tactical (so-called) nuclear weapons. A moment's reflection will show that, except for use against conventional forces of a non-nuclear power, it is useless to have conventional forces of any size against a nuclear power.

It would be quite stupid (even if the ETO powers were prepared to make the effort) to put 50 conventional divisions to guard Europe against a potential nuclear attack. Therefore, we should soon discover that the only conventional forces which had any logical purpose would be those needed for internal security and, in our case, overseas police operations.

This would mean that on the credit side of the balance sheet there might be a saving of £1,000,000,000 on defence (I'll come back to that in a moment), and on the debit side we should not be in a position to resist successfully by force any demand made to us by a power which had retained nuclear energy for military purposes.

Carried to its logical conclusion, this means that our homeland could be occupied by the enemy, or, a lesser evil, we could be forced to deliver unrequited exports or surrender colonial territory.

Before I look into that I want to say a word or two about invasion and occupation. For centuries the British people have been accustomed to suppose that their homeland could not be invaded. To the majority of the world's inhabitants this is a strange idea: an occupation by an enemy is regarded as a normal hazard of international life. I submit that even in terms of conventional war we should now recognise that an invasion of this country perhaps by airborne troops is a possible event, and that it should not be regarded as high treason to suppose that the invasion might be successful in a military sense.

If invaded . . .

What preparations exist to deal with this latter contingency? I am sure there are none and there were none in 1940—I hope it is clear that I am referring to a successful military invasion.

There are none and there were none in 1940 because defence thinking was and is in this matter of a thoroughly defeatist character.

The assumption is that all is lost if the country is occupied until one is liberated by someone. This is a most deplorable and undemocratic attitude.

A successful occupation by a totalitarian enemy of the homeland should be regarded as a tactical defeat, not the end of the struggle, and the struggle should not be continued by military means which *a priori* have failed, but by moral and political forces.

I should like to have the following at my mercy in front of a television camera in a series of interviews: The Archbishop of Canterbury; the Director-General of the BBC; the Editor of The Times; the Chairman of the TUC; the Governor of the Bank of England; the Chairman of the Institute of Directors, and the President of the National Farmers' Union, and ask them this question:

Do you consider that if Great Britain is occupied by a totalitarian power *all*, I repeat *all*, is lost?

If they said "Yes," my reply would be: "You ought to resign." If they said: "Well, I suppose not necessarily," I would say: "Very well, what plans have you made in connection with the organisation of which you are the head to meet this contingency?"

If they said: "None," I should reply: "So you ought to resign after all."

I am pretty sure they haven't any plans. But is anyone in this room prepared to deny we are not more liable to occupation than ever before in our history?"

Study of non-violence

There is something to be learnt about all this from the experiences of the continental nations during the Nazi occupation and the story of the Nazi occupation of the Ukraine.

But we do not know enough about the techniques of non-violent resistance—with or without association with guerrilla warfare, to which I do not attach much importance in the case of the UK.

A detailed study from the defence angle needs to be made of the Gandhi movement, the African non-violent techniques in the Union of South Africa, the Negro movements in the USA, and the general strike policy in Imperial China, to quote a few examples.

So that even if we do *not* adopt a defence policy based on the idea of renouncing the use of nuclear energy for military purposes (a decision which by a kind of chain-reaction in reverse would lead to unilateral disarmament) we ought to give thought to how to defend our way of life against an occupying enemy.

An occupation of this country would clearly make it very difficult for the institutional side of our way of life to function normally, but as I shall continue to insist to my dying day, the Ark of the Covenant, that which must be defended to the death, is the spirit of our way of life, which in the last resort is rooted in the mind and courage of every individual who believes in the imperishable values of freedom and the supreme importance of the individual.

May I now ask you to assume that after a great national debate preceded by a comprehensive enquiry, the British Government has decided in agreement with the opposition to make the unilateral decision to abandon the use of nuclear energy for military purposes, and that the nation understands what this means.

To keep this talk within bounds I will have to confine my remarks to British policy. The armed forces as we know them would be progressively reduced and the Ministry of defence would be reorganised into three departments called the Home, Neutral and Enemy departments. It would be the duty of the Home department to organise the nation for non-violent resistance in the event of an occupation. The Neutral department would operate in the sphere of public opinion in the uncommitted nations; the third department would be responsible for conducting offensive psychological warfare against enemy governments and public opinion.

Before I say any more about the new set-up of defence I want to make it plain that I firmly hold that the best defence is to attack, and I picture the new Ministry of Defence being fully inspired with the offensive spirit not so much in terms of negative anti-Communism, but of vigorous pro-democratic activities. Furthermore, I should add that of the £1,000,000,000 I anticipate would be saved on military force, I would allocate £500,000,000 at least to the new Ministry.

During occupation

Incidentally, but I can't go into this today, most of the Foreign Office would in practice be merged into the new Ministry. There is something comic in defence plans in 1957, being as it were the servant of foreign policy. This may have been convenient in the time of my ancestor, Lord Castlereagh, but it is archaic in the nuclear age.

Defence policy today is foreign policy. I don't want unduly to raise anyone's blood pressure, but if ever there was a case of a so-called foreign policy demanding the impossible from our defence arrangements it was Suez.

A lady who didn't like my views on Suez wrote and said: "Anyhow, it was nice to hear the British Lion roar, if only for a short time." I replied: "If you can't bite, don't roar."

It is axiomatic that in warlike operations one must first secure one's base. This would be the job of the Home section of the Ministry of Defence. It would have two tasks. First, continuous educational work to raise the whole standard of citizenship and appreciation of the significance of our values; secondly, to train the nation in how to cope with an enemy occupation.

The conduct of the nation during an occupation should be based on four general rules.

(a) The economic life of the country to be maintained so far as possible.

(b) Administrative arrangements to continue until the occupier orders new ones. They will be carried out.

(c) Refusal *at all costs* to say or write anything contrary to the principles of our way of life or accept denial of freedom of speech or association.

(d) On the whole I think the tactic should be to seek contact with representatives of the occupying power and establish a moral superiority.

That is to say, a democratic nation engaged in a battle of ideas with a totalitarian power must regard an occupation as an opportunity to engage the enemy more closely.

The Defence Ministry I have outlined to you would control a full-time service of defence personnel the exact equivalent on the side of psychological operations to our present military service personnel.

All our institutions, the BBC, the Press, the Trade Unions, the education authorities, etc., would have defence officers attached to them to train them in the new technique of defence. The defence personnel would themselves have been trained at staff colleges.

Our present military civil defence would be replaced by civil civil defence.

The unit might well be the Parliamentary division in each of which there would be a hard core of fully-trained defence people which would cover the whole country, much as do the present party political organisations, who are of course waging a rather bogus battle of the brains or psychological campaign in the shape of a civil war. I hope you've got hold of that idea; it's rather a test as to whether or not you are through the thought barrier.

At the cross-roads

I cannot now go on to outline the rôle of the Ministry of Defence in its other two duties: i.e., the uncommitted nations and, most important of all, the enemy mind. All I can say on the subject of the enemy is this. The only sure hope of peace—of this I have no doubt whatsoever—is the establishment in every State in the world which has the physical power to wage large-scale war, of a genuine system of democracy. Until the people of the Soviet Union have relationship in principle to their rulers similar to that which democratic peoples have to theirs, mankind is in grave jeopardy. Here again I can claim support from a White Paper on defence.

The Communists always say that capitalism will destroy itself, and they try to give it a helping hand. What capitalism does in fact is to rejuvenate itself. Communism, on the other hand, is inflexible, and will crack under internal pressure.

I will chance my arm and predict that within 25 years Communism as we now know it will not exist in Russia. The problem is how to play for time and prevent a nuclear war emerging either by accident or design out of the present tension which is fundamentally an ideological struggle. I mention this as a kind of footnote, but according to my theories about the cold war the American interpretation of the Eisenhower doctrine is *not* the way to operate in the Middle East.

Something dramatic and new has got to be done by someone to find and apply a new idea and shift the whole basis of the struggle from the dead end of nuclear violence to the unlimited possibilities of the field of psychological operations. This new thing, this bound forward in defence thinking which I believe to be the logical next step from the fact that physical violence has reached its optimum, can only be undertaken by a nation sure of its destiny and accustomed to living up to Milton's words when he wrote:

"Let not England forget her precedence
in teaching the nations how to live."

Mankind is at the cross-roads. We have never been at cross-roads like them in the past. This is the point of no return for humanity. I sometimes dream and even hope that my country, which has made such notable contributions in the past to the totality of modern civilisation may perform the supreme service of giving mankind a lead which will save him from himself.

DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:
1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m.
2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Saturday/Sunday, November 9/10

DERBYSHIRE: WEEK END CONFERENCE at The Briars, Crick, nr. Matlock. Subject: "Unarmed" (A Study of the Consequences of Unilateral Disarmament by Gt. Britain). All welcome. North and East Midlands Area PPU. Conference Organiser: Frederick Forder, Farm House, Sudbrook, Grantham, Lincs.

Sunday, November 10

LONDON, 3.30 p.m.; Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by S. E. Parker, "The Art of Loving."

Monday, November 11

EDINBURGH: 11.30 a.m.; Appellate Tribunal will sit at No. 5 Courtroom, Parliament House, Parliament Sq.

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m.; Labour Party Rooms, Westgate. Shipley Group of PPU.

Tuesday, November 12

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m.; 19 Newark Croft, Sheldon 26. Tuesday not Monday. PPU all welcome.

LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m.; Waverley Hotel, Southampton Row. "The Third Way in the New Conditions in the World Today." Speaker: Allen Skinner, Chairman of the British Members' Group, and John Banks, Int. Sec., The Third Way Int. Movement.

Wednesday, November 13

CLAPHAM, S.W.4: 8 p.m.; Clapham Labour Party HQ, 27 Clapham Park Rd. (5 mins. Clapham Common Tube). Speaker: Arlo Tatum on SJPC pamphlet "Unarmed." Clapham and Dist. PPU.

NEWCASTLE: 7 p.m.; St. James's Congregational Church. "All God's Children," Rev. Ralph Bell, FoR.

Thursday, November 14

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m.; Central Library (Snow Hill). Public Forum. "Should we Disarm and How?" Panel: Rev. Clifford Johnson, Councillor Jim Woodward, Max Parker, Eric Turner. Questions invited. All welcome. Adm. free.

LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Meeting Ho., Hunter St. (behind Walker Art Gallery). Film: "Children of Hiroshima." Merseyside H-bomb Protest Committee.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m.; 29 Gt. James St. Additional Meeting of London Youth Fellowship of FoR. Speaker: Hildegard Mayr, "The Work of the International FoR." Secretary: Howard Roberts, 7 St. George's Road, Wallington, Surrey. Meeting on November 21 postponed to December 5.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Speaker: Ian Dixon: "Journey to India." PPU E.10 and E.11.

Friday, November 15

CROYDON: 2.30 p.m.; Adult School Hall, Park Lane. Autumn Sale and Public Meeting opened by Miss Minnie Pallister. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Saturday, November 16

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m.; Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Road. PEACE NEWS CHRISTMAS BAZAAR. Looking forward to seeing you there.

SOUTHAMPTON: 6.15 p.m.; Friends' Meeting Ho., Ordnance Rd. Speaker: Arlo Tatum, Secretary WRI, "The Pacifist Dilemma." Also Area Meeting at 3 p.m. Southern Area PPU.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 6.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Grosvenor Park. "The Moral Implications of the H-bomb." Speaker: Sybil Morrison. Chairman: Rupert Sutton, BA, ARAM. Public Mtg. PPU.

Monday, November 18

IPSWICH: 7.15 p.m.; Friends' Meeting Ho., Fonnereau Rd. "Facing the Consequences (2) A Study of Unilateral Disarmament based on the proposal by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall and the pamphlet 'Unarmed'" published by the SJPC.

WALTHAMSTOW: 3.30 p.m.; William Morris Hall, Somers Road. Aggregate Meeting and Re-Union. Speaker: Hilda von Klenze. Chairman: Ted Redhead. Walthamstow and District Advisory Committee for Objectors and Conscripts. Tea and Social Evening. All welcome.

Wednesday, November 20

BRIDGWATER: 7.30 p.m.; YMCA Film Show, "Children of Hiroshima," organised by Bridgwater Youth Leaders' Committee.

NEWCASTLE: 7 p.m.; YMCA, Blackett Street. Rev. Wm. Dagg, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Christian Pacifists and Peace.

Thursday, November 21

ALTON: 7.30 p.m.; Hillcrest, Windmill Hill. Speaker: Chris Farley, "Non-Violence Today." Alton PPU.

Saturday/Sunday, November 23/24

ST. IVES: Week-End Conference, Treloyhan Manor. Subject: The Changing Face of the World. Leader: Fred S. Moorhouse, BSc. Chairman: Mrs. G. M. Lloyd-Jones. Secretary: Harold King, 18 Penventon Terrace, Redruth. Devon and Cornwall PPU and FoR.

Wednesday, November 27

BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m.; 25 Vernon Terrace, Seven Dials. Speaker: Donald Lawrence, former Warden of Friends' Centre, Delhi. "Non-violent Resistance." FPC, PPU.

Every week!

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m.; PPU, Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOKE: 8.30 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

RECENT PAMPHLETS

Russia and the West

IN the years before World War II Mr. Christopher Hollis gained a reputation by his lucid exposition of the opinion that foreigners aren't fools, and that, despite our air of virtuous innocence, we aren't so dumb.

One did not have to agree with all he said to appreciate that the points were well made, and thrust well home. In a recent addition to the excellent little "Background Book" series of pamphlets he shows that his powers have not waned.

In **After Stalin** (Phœnix House, 3s.) he traces the sequence of events in Russia since Stalin's death, and then turns to consider what can be done by the Western Powers. Wisely he concludes that there is no easy, simple or quick solution, and the final answer does not lay in the complete victory of either side. His last two paragraphs are:

"In the sixteenth century Catholics thought that it was essential that Protestantism be wholly destroyed, and Protestants thought it essential that Catholicism be wholly destroyed, but after some years of conflict each found that it was not strong enough to suppress the other. It was necessary to accept co-existence, and victory, on Hegelian principles, went to the new secular tolerating State, which was something very different from any State of which either Catholic or Protestant had any conception when first the Reformation broke.

"So doubtless, if peace can be preserved, a Communist world which has come to see the need for allowing a place for such things as liberty and religion will come to live side by side with a democratic world which has turned its back on the colour bar and the extravagances of extreme capitalist inequality. Some third thing will emerge—some new balance, in which of course industrialised Russia, whatever its regime, will have a vastly more important weight than the old Russia of Czarist days."

●

Another pamphlet in the same series is **A Short Guide to Soviet Life,** by Henrietta Bower (Phœnix House, 3s. 6d.), which contains as much purely factual information about life in Russia, all obtained from Soviet sources, as can be packed into 64 pages.

Among other pamphlets recently received are: **War and Peace** (Pax, 37 Northiam, London, N.12, 9d.), which deals with the Roman Catholic teaching on war, conscientious objection, and the responsibility of States and citizens to take steps to halt the trend to war, quoting numerous eminent Roman Catholics who have expressed opinions on these subjects.

Some Problems of the Atomic Age, by Charles A Coulson (Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.). The text of the Scott Lidgett Memorial Lecture delivered by Professor Coulson at Bristol earlier this year, in which he discusses some of the "monstrous, perplexing and difficult" problems of the Atomic Age, and pleads for a Christian approach to them with all the possibilities for good and evil that they bring.

●

Bhoodan as Seen by the West (Sarvodaya Prachuralayam Publishers) is a collection of fifteen short articles by European and American writers about Vinoba Bhave and the Land Gift Movement, including contributions by Hallam Tennyson, David Graham and Ian Dixon.

The World's Needs, by J. H. Anderson (Friends Peace Committee, 6d.). The author, who is an agriculturalist, was seconded by the British Government to the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation for work in Iraq. He surveys the world-wide shortage of the necessities of life, and concludes " . . . if real peace could be established, a new kind of war could be declared —a total war—upon the brute forces of poverty and need. The peace we seek, founded on trust and co-operation between nations, will be preserved not by weapons of war but by wheat and cotton, milk and wool, by meat, rice and timber. These are words which translate into every language on earth.

T. R. D.

Russian dictionary

The EUP Concise Russian And English Dictionary, by John Grosberg, English Universities Press. 10s. 6d.

THE emergence of Russia as leader of one of the two great power blocs in the world has, naturally, added immensely to the importance of the Russian language.

Until recently the study of it was regarded as a rather remote, academic occupation; now, however, it has considerable practical use in many fields, as well as enabling one, in the words of a sarcastic contemporary, "to read Russian fiction such as Tolstoy, Dostoevski and Pravda in the original." At present only a handful of schools include it in their curriculum, and many students are teaching themselves with or without the aid of evening classes.

These will give a particularly warm welcome to the latest addition to the well-known "Teach Yourself Books" of "The EUP Concise Russian and English Dictionary," which takes its place alongside the Russian Grammar already issued in the same series. It contains, as well as the both-ways dictionary, some useful advice to the student, and is extraordinarily good value for the money.

T.R.D.

ARC de TRIOMPHE

By Norman Sinclair

Did you, Unknown Soldier,
Swagger to the Flag;
Or did you, unsure,
Await enlistment?

What christening-place, what bethel
(Arles, Chartres, Reims, St. Roch?)
Did you forsake for anonymity
Though exalted as Joffre, Foch)?

And who, bereaved, not knowing
You'd reach this shrine of victories,
Still bore your patriot pride—
Or was she That Other Country's

Today in fronded cafes
Along the Champs-Elysees,
Tourists of other tongues
Find understanding easy.

Yet, dazzled by the Arc
White in the mid-day glare,
I almost missed the Flame—
Flickering, but for ever.

Ever: but not to me for campaigns, crusades;
We've warred-to-end-war far too long:
Nations must be strong—but to forbear;
Youth's sacrifice not glorified, but wrong.

CLASSIFIED Advertisements

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., Londn, N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning.

Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

MEETINGS

CONWAY DISCUSSIONS. South Place Ethical Society. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Tues., 7.15 p.m., Nov. 12. Debate: Stuart Morris, MA, J. Hutton Hynd, "Should Britain Disarm Now?" Adm. free.

S. PLACE ETHICAL SOC. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Sun., 11 a.m., Nov. 10: Dr. John Lewis, "Self Sacrifice in a Godless Universe." Adm. free.

ACCOMMODATION

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food for visitors and permanent guests. CANonbury 1340, Telkea Shayler, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

FROM TIME TO TIME we have quiet accommodation available for long term letting. Separate rooms; own cooking facilities. Apply, Sec. the Vedanta Movement, Batheaston Villa, Bath.

THE VEDANTA MOVEMENT has opened a permanent branch centre in Southfields. Furnished accommodation will be available for people liking quiet ways. Gifts of furniture, etc., will be welcome. Pease write: Secretary, Vedanta Movement, Elsenham Street, London, S.W.18.

FOR SALE

EXTENSION LADDERS, special discount, winter sales. A. Roberts, 12 Clare Rd., Cardiff.

WHAT ARE YOUR commercial and personal stationery needs? HOUSMANS STATIONERY DEPT. can deal with them. Plain postcards, 2s. 10d. per 100; white envelopes 6 x 3½ ins., 21s. per 1,000 box; manilla, 14s. 6d. per 1,000 box; white bank paper 10 x 8 ins., 9s. per 500 sheets; newswrappers 10 x 5 ein., 19s. per 1,000, 2s. 3d. per 100; plain economy labels 4½ x 3¾ ins., 14s. 6d. per 1,000, 1s. 8d. per 100. All post free. Harley Bond Writing Pads, etc., from 6d. each, postage extra. All profits to Peace News. Write or call HOUSMANS STATIONERY DEPT., 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

LITERATURE

"GAMES WITH WORDS" new book (Epworth Press 2s. 6d.) by Kate Stevens, PPU member, author of "Modern Party Games," etc.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Ctee., Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

PERSONAL

DRUG-LESS REMEDIES??? FLU? CONSTIPATION? NERVES? Only 10s.! Health Center, Adelaide Road, Dublin.

IF YOU SHOP at a Co-op please give this number when making your next purchase:
L 3 3 6 9 4 3
Your dividend will then be gratefully received by the Secretary, PEACE NEWS, 3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, all ages, part or full time work for world peace organisation. Make good and do good. Write to: M.A.N.'s Association, Dept. PWP & P, 1870 W. Arrow Hwy, Upland, California, U.S.A.

PENFRIENDS REQUIRED—home and overseas—details from: J. R. Cotterill, 32 Lightwoods Hill, Smethwick, 41, Staffs.

SPIRITUAL PSYCHOTHERAPIST. Qualified. Two hours from London. Grant, Burley, Ringwood.

SWANAGE: Vegetarian Guest House overlooking sea. Home-made bread, cakes, salads. Own garden and farm produce. High standard catering. Children's playroom. Brochure. Goldings, "Waveney," Park Rd. Phone 2804.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

WE CAN HELP YOU. Use these columns to advertise your services, sell your products and seek your needs. Write to the Advertisement Manager, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

YOUNG MAN aged 20, shortly moving to London, requires accommodation in household. Box 756.

SITUATIONS VACANT

FRIENDS' Work Camps office needs shorthand-typist; preferably experienced and capable of acting as deputy during Secretary's absence. Apply Friends' Service Council, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. *every Wednesday evening* for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

Fellowship Cards

This 1957 range is more colourful and attractive than ever

1. **The Carol Singers**
   Attractive single card for children in two colours. 2½d. each
2. **The Dove**
   Lovely double card with words by Laurence Housman. 3d. each
3. **Shepherds in the Field**
   Double card in two colours. "His name shall be the Prince of Peace." 4d. each
4. **Welsh Card**
   Design as 3. Words in Welsh by Gwliym Tilsley. 4d. each
5. **Star over Bethlehem**
   Most attractive multi-coloured card—scene of Bethlehem by night. 6d. each
6. **Church and Christmas Tree**
   Beautiful card: multi-coloured. Words by A. Dorothy Angus. 6d. each
7. **International Card**
   Design as 6. Greeting in English, French, German, Russian, Latin and Welsh. 6d. each

(All cards supplied with envelopes)

ORDER YOUR SAMPLE SET WITHOUT DELAY. 2s. 9d. POST FREE

(The sample set does not include No. 4)

All obtainable from:

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, 29 GT. JAMES ST., LONDON, W.C.1

Senator Morse

☐ from page one

grounds. I do not believe our nation or any other nation can justify, on moral grounds, a continuation of the testing of nuclear weapons.

"The verdict of history will be against us if we continue such testing, and I believe our generation will go down in history as an immoral generation if we continue the testing.

"I am not moved by any statements of the President, by military officials, by the Secretary of Defence, or by anyone else which would seek to minimise or negate this moral issue."

White House vigil begins

In Washington last Friday a month-long vigil, sponsored by six national peace organisations, started in front of the White House.

Individuals from all over the US will gather there each afternoon to pray for an end to the testing and use of nuclear weapons.

Announcing the opening of the Prayer and Conscience Vigil, Lawrence Scott, Co-ordinator, said:

"We cannot believe it is the will of the Creator that men destroy themselves in a mad armaments race. We hope to rally the spiritual and moral forces of our nation for the task of positive peacemaking.

"The Vigil is non-secretarian. All who have faith in the dignity and worth of the individual are welcomed.

"We believe that if our civilisation is to survive there must come a closer relationship between religion, morals and politics. One of the purposes of the prayer Vigil is to sensitise all of us to the moral issues involved in the world-wide trend towards dependence on force and violence."

Sierra Leone

● FROM PAGE ONE

members of the Sierra Leone People's Party—the ruling party—had been relieved of their posts in the House of Representatives, and one was currently serving a prison sentence. The charges against the men were corrupt practices, bribery and aiding and abetting in connection with the elections.

A petition signed by all the Paramount chiefs and Tribal Authorities of the Kono district delivered to the British Colonial Office last Monday called for "a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the social, economic, political and educational conditions existing within our district with special reference to the diamond mining industry operating under the concessions granted to the Sierra Leone Selection Trust, Ltd., about which there has been much unrest in our district in particular and in the country in general."

The petition pointed out that none of the Paramount chiefs and Tribal Authorities of the district were ever signatories to agreements or participants in negotiations with the Sierra Leone Government or the Sierra Leone Selection Trust, Ltd., for the leasing of lands for mining purposes.

Other charges of police brutality, torture and wanton shooting in the Kono district of Sierra Leone were contained in a letter to Fenner Brockway, MP, and Mrs. Lena Jeger, MP, from Wallace-Johnson, Member for Wilberforce, Sierra Leone, and written on behalf of the Kono Progressive Movement: "On one occasion a building belonging to one Samuel Kmanda of Tombodu was ravaged by a Selection Trust lorry carrying armed police.

"A pregnant woman's life was jeopardised when heavy concrete blocks were thrown over her during demolition. Many casualties resulting from rifle shots and baton charges have been reported."

The letter ends by calling for an independent Royal Commission to inquire into the cause of the trouble.

BOOK TOKENS

Any book in print speedily supplied or ask for our list

available by post, and exchanged by

HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP

3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON N.4

Published by Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, and Printed by Fish & Cook Ltd., 135 Fonthill Road, N.4.

By Sybil Morrison

"THE GLORIOUS DEAD"

I wonder what the Glorious Dead
Think of the glorious present?
Where is the world for which they bled,
I wonder? What the glorious dead
Might say—let it remain unsaid,
It can't be very pleasant!
I wonder what *the glorious dead*
Think of? The Glorious Present?

—Triolet by Phyllis Vallance. Remembrance Day, 1947.

TEN years after the First World War, novels and plays began to appear, many of them revealing the miseries and horrors of the ghastly struggle in the mud and slime of France and Flanders, some of them condemning, others glorifying those terrible four years in which a whole generation was deemed to be expendable and sacrificed.

Ten years after the Second World War the public are regaled with the Memoirs of Field-Marshals and Generals, in which it is made even plainer than in the Post-First World War publications, that human lives were not only expendable, but scarcely taken into consideration at all, and lost not through enemy superiority, but through disagreements and blunders at the highest levels of administration.

The passionate certainty that we were safe in the hands of Churchill and his Chiefs of Staff would have crumpled into complete disillusionment if anyone could have had any idea of the behind-the-scenes gambling with human lives, that is now uncovered in the spate of memoirs and autobiographies that pour from the publishers' presses.

People have been deceived by high-sounding words, blinded by the radiance of bright uniforms and waving flags, deafened by the martial music of marching thousands, for hundreds of years.

★

The disillusionment of a second World War following so soon upon a war that was ostensibly fought to end all wars, is now complete; the youth of today faces the intercontinental-ballistic-missile-age, in which, far from the overthrow of tyranny promised during the war against Hitler, the world labours under the tyranny of two great power blocs snarling at each other over the fast falling barriers of space.

Nevertheless, on Sunday, military bands will play, bugles will sound, obsolete armies and navies will march, bombing 'planes will "fly past" in precise formation, wreaths will be laid on Cenotaph and shrines, and on that sad stone covering the unknown remains of what was once a man, and prayers and praise to God will be heard in all churches throughout the country.

It is natural that people should remember their dead; it is understandable that they should desire to remember in some tangible way; it is tragically true that an embittered remembrance is worse than no remembrance at all.

And so it is, that the day set aside for remembrance of the dead in two world wars, is coloured to seem glorious, is arrayed to appear magnificent, is decorated to look beautiful.

Prayers and hymns, psalms and sermons are all mixed up with the panoply of militarism, and are offered as a solace to those who not only grieve for the empty place in the heart, and the irreparable gap in the family, but fear perhaps, even if they dare not admit it, that there is nothing glorious in war, that peace has not been saved, and their loved one dead for no good purpose.

★

For those who remember that it is forty years ago since the terrible blunder and wholesale massacre of Passchendaele, there may be a few who remember that it is also forty years since Lord Lansdowne called for a halt to the war, and was howled down by all but a handful of pacifists.

It is possible that if terms had been made then there would have been no Hitler; it is possible that if there had been no "unconditional surrender" policy there would be no "cold war" today. To cry "peace" in the midst of war has little chance of success.

But if on Remembrance Sunday, we could gather together without the flags and the bands, the bugles and the parades; if in those moments of silence, heads were bowed in shame and repentance, that day could become what it should be, a day of dedication not to the spurious glories of war, but to the splendid adventure of peace.

It is here and now that we need to cry: "Peace"!

Briefly

Armistice Day in New York (Nov. 11) will be marked with a public meeting on "The H-bomb and what the Christian can do about it." Vera Brittain, a sponsor of the British Peace Pledge Union, will be among the speakers.

Protest march against British H-bomb tests will assemble at Stoke Newington Town Hall, Church Street (73 bus) tomorrow, Saturday, at 2.45, led by John Loverseed, AFC.

The British Peace Committee has called for the repudiation of plans to equip NATO powers with nuclear arms and "for all possible action to press this view on HM Government before the NATO meeting on Dec. 18."

The Committee, which is the British section of the World Peace Council, asks also for the cancellation of the Christmas Island tests, the ending of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, and for a "Heads of State" meeting to end the arms race.

UNSERE ZEITUNG

is the authoritative new West German illustrated monthly newspaper for teachers and students of German language and events. It contains reprints of important articles from the German Press, with English, French and Spanish glossaries. 1s. per copy, 11s. 3d. p.a. incl. postage. Ten or more Group Subscriptions: 10s. each. Order from your newsagent or from the U.K. Representative: J. B. & E., P.O. Box 113, 60 Market St., Watford.

Disarmament

★ FROM PAGE ONE

being limited to cessation of nuclear tests. Most oratory has been focussed either on the defence of the 24-nation resolution initiated by the United States or on efforts to break apart the Western package and get agreement on the more limited issue of the cessation of tests.

Majority votes in the Political Committee and ultimately in the General Assembly itself will not automatically lead to a disarmament treaty among the three nuclear powers.

India and a few other nations have urged that there be no vote rather than one which will only harden positions of the Great Powers and make subsequent negotiations even more difficult.

As Krishna Menon has said: "No useful purpose would be served by proceeding speedily to a vote, the results of which could already be anticipated."

Protesting against the mechanical, cold-war approach to disarmament on both sides, Menon asserted: "We cannot get disarmament by legislation or passing resolutions; we must seek agreement."

Speaking of the tightening deadlock, Menon felt that there was a significant "plateau of agreement" in London only to have the five nations separated by the "mists of suspicion." It must be reported that the political mist along the East River at the United Nations in New York is, if anything, thicker than along the Thames, and, at the moment, even more disheartening. As for Sputnik, its bleeps have hardly impressed the majority of delegates at the United Nations, and there are no new proposals for international control of outer-space missiles.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Public Meeting

Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. W.C.1

Monday, November 11 at 7.30 p.m.

Speakers: L. JAMES CALLAGHAN MP
THE REV. MICHAEL SCOTT

Chairman: LORD HEMINGFORD

Tickets: Reserved 2s.
Unreserved free.

Obtainable from:
THE AFRICA BUREAU
65 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.
Tel: TATe Gallery 0701

STUART MORRIS WILL OPEN!

PEACE NEWS

Christmas Bazaar and Social

3 p.m. Saturday, Nov. 16, Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Rd. W.C.1

The annual get-together for London and Home Counties readers and their families and friends. **Readers everywhere**, please send your gifts for sale to help Peace News. Needlework, knitting, arts and crafts, preserves, fruit, vegetables, foodstuffs, sweets, books, fancy goods and gifts, anything useful, white elephants and white mice, gratefully welcomed. Collection arranged where possible in London area.

PEACE NEWS, 3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4

Only five more weeks to raise £2,000 for Peace News from the sale of Endsleigh

Christmas Cards
and Gifts

Christmas Cards: distinctive, popular, varied to suit all ages and most tastes, 3d. to 7d. each post free, with envelopes, quotations include Schweitzer, Niemoller, Soper, Aggrey, Rossetti, etc. (many with greetings only).

COMPLETE SAMPLE SET **11s.** 31 assorted cards

FULL LIST OF CARDS AND GIFTS FREE, SEND S.A.E.

TRIAL PACKET **2s. 9d.** 8 assorted cards

Christmas Gifts and Stationery: selected for quality, usefulness and good value; Friendship Calendar—lovely pictures and peace quotations (4s. 6d.), Writing Cases (5s. 6d., 10s. 6d. and 16s. 6d.), Wallets (3s. 6d.), Pocket Secretaries (3s.), Notebooks (2s.), etc., all in various styles of simulated leather; Stationery Cabinets (5s.), Childrens' Compendiums (2s. 6d.), Christmas packing materials, Photographic Albums (4s. 6d., 2s. 6d., and 1s.), grained covers (small post charge on each item).

- **N. LONDON:** Endsleigh Cards (Peace News), 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.
  (all postal orders to above).
- **CENTRAL LONDON:** Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.
- **BIRMINGHAM:** Dick Sheppard House, 36 Holloway Head, B'ham (2—5 p.m., SATS ONLY) or Duncan Whiteman, 42 Brentford Rd., B'ham 14.
- **BRADFORD:** G. D. Locke, 5 Hallas Bridge, Cullingworth.
- **MANSFIELD:** T. Wadsworth, 92 Beck Cres., Ladybrook Estate.
- **PLYMOUTH:** Nancy Curtis, 46 Ford Park Rd., Mutley.
- **SOUTHEND:** Ken Dockerill, 49 St. Lukes Rd.

Don't forget or delay ● Please order today